

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 5 No. 36

23th April 1925

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213. Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprecorr, Vienna.

C O N T E N T S

The Bomb Outrage in Sofia.

Politics

J. B.: Lord Balfour, his Zionist Lackeys and the Toiling Masses of Palestine.

A. R.: The Dissolution of the Egyptian Parliament.

A. r.: The Spaniards in Morocco.

In the International

Comrade Stalin's Speech at the Czechoslovakian Commission of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.

Appeal of the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. to all the Members of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party.

The White Terror

A New Crime of the Esthonian Bourgeoisie and Social Democracy.

Book Reviews

Hermann Duncker: Max Beer: General History of Socialism and Social Struggles.

The Bomb Outrage in Sofia.

By Boyan.

The outrage in Sofia is no ordinary event.

On the 15th of April Reserve General K. Gheorghieff, the President of the "Kubret" (a conspiratory military organisation which really governs the country) was murdered in Sofia. During the funeral service which took place the following day in the "Sveti Kral" Cathedral, an infernal machine exploded. The explosion was terrific. The cathedral was almost destroyed. There are over 200 killed and 500 wounded.

Who has committed this terrible outrage, which constitutes a blow at the heart of the official government in the country, the government of the professors and generals?

The blow is very severe, the horror is very great; hence therefore the hysterical outcry against the "agrarian communists". The bourgeois press of the whole world once more has the opportunity of launching a furious attack against "bloody" bolshevism, against communism. The rage of the kept press of Bulgaria knows no limits. The bourgeois press gives expression to the rage and the lust for revenge of the governing class. This bloody desire for revenge is again directed against the defenceless workers and peasants. Numerous murders have already been carried out in Sofia and in the whole country as revenge for the outrage. The bourgeois press characterises these murders as "regrettable incidents".

The whole bourgeois press today is bemoaning the fate of some generals, members of parliament and higher officials. The murderers are weeping: those who shed no tears when those who are now buried beneath the ruins of the Cathedral organised the wholesale slaughter of thousands of workers and peasants. May the indignant journalists, professors, generals and parsons weep! The workers and peasants of the whole world fully realise that there is nothing of humanity and culture to be moaned for here.

These bearers of culture of the bourgeoisie did not weep but triumphed when, in June 1923, over a thousand peasants were slaughtered and when in September of the same year over 10,000 workers, peasants and intellectuals were done to death in the most brutal manner. It was in the same Cathedral that there was then celebrated the victory of "law and order", the salvation of the State.

The 200 dead do not even number one per cent of the workers and peasants who have been murdered during the 22 months existence of the Zankov government. Up to now the Bulgarian people have lost in their struggle against Zankov over 20,000 victims, among them being 2000 teachers, lawyers, popular representatives and village clergy.

We do not write these lines in order to justify the outrage. It requires neither our justification nor our condemnation. It is our task to explain it.

The outrage in Sofia is inseparably connected with the countless mass and individual assassinations which the Zankov government has for 22 months committed without cessation against the freedom and the existence of the Bulgarian working people.

June and September 1923 and September 1924 were nothing else than r periods of mass assassinations which cost the Bulgarian people almost as much blood as did the first Serbo-Bulgarian war.

Political murders became quite usual events. Since the beginning of the present year in particular there have been fresh murders every day. The months of January, February and March were full of arrests and murders. At the end of March alone over 1000 workers and peasants were arrested within the course of 10 to 15 days. The month of April was marked by fresh "revelations" and murders.

The massacrings of political opponents was legalised by the extension of the law for the protection of the State and by the Law as to the Police.

In this stifling political atmosphere of murder and violent suppression of the workers and peasants and their political and economic organisations, the economic situation of the broad masses of the people became unendurable. The journal of the Bulgarian Economic Society represented the situation as follows: If one reckons the cost of living in the period from 1900 till 1910 as 100, the cost of living in the year 1924 was 3580 times dearer, in January 1925, 4230 times and in February 1925, 4375 times. On the other hand, the workers wages sunk from 100 in 1913 to 68 in 1924 and to 64 in 1925. In February 1925 the real wages of an official amounted to 32.2. The cost of living index amounted last year to 3572; in this year to 4375.

Regarding the economic and political situation the "Zname" wrote on 6th April: "Human patience is not inexhaustible. The economic policy of the government, as far as it has one, leads to fresh suffering, to new increases in the cost of living; and what then?"

At the beginning of April a fresh wave of high prices set in. In the cities one could only obtain a very bad quality of flour which has been imported from America. Still greater were the restrictions in the sphere of political life. All workers' newspapers, whether political or Trade Union, are suppressed, meetings of any kind are prohibited. Freedom of the Press is abolished for the workers and peasants, while they are also deprived of the right to organise on the political, the Trade Union or the co-operative field. They are likewise robbed of all possibility of conducting any kind of struggle to better their position. Any protest against this rank reactionary policy of the government of professors is replied to by their organs with bestial murders.

All opposition parties of the bourgeoisie have condemned this policy. The newspapers of these parties warned Zankov repeatedly that "his bloody Reaction would be answered by a still greater strengthening of the activity of the conspirative elements".

Because all other ways of struggle were barred, we now experience such terrible events. The outrage is terrible, just as the causes which gave rise to it are also terrible. "How fearfully must the Zankov government have misruled in order to call forth this elementary and inhuman rage?" wrote even the Vienna „Arbeiter Zeitung“ on the 18th of April.

Who has committed this outrage? It is not the work of a party. The whole population is conducting the struggle against the bloody reaction. The will to revenge is assuming such monstrous forms in order to give expression to the hatred against the present rulers. Perhaps it is an insane act. But as the cultured rulers of Bulgaria have allowed themselves to commit insane acts the people have the right to reply to the same.

It depends upon whether the Bulgarian rulers abandon their insane policy whether the causes of an insane act such as the outrage in Sofia will be removed in the future.

POLITICS

Lord Balfour, his Zionist Lackeys and the Toiling Masses of Palestine.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

Little Palestine again has been the centre of interest for a few days. The telegraphic agencies and special correspondents of the big English newspapers sent out detailed descriptions of Lord Balfour's journey in the "Holy Land", his arrival, his welcome, and everything else concerning the matter. But all these announcements and descriptions — probably purposely rather than otherwise — ignored the true political significance of the Balfour Trip. The ceremony of the opening of a Jewish University in Jerusalem (which, by the way, has a thoroughly Clerical character, and will be a bulwark of reaction, and with the splendour of which the Jewish bourgeoisie will dazzle the broad Jewish masses in various countries), is naturally not a sufficient reason for luring a British aristocrat, advanced in years, of high standing in political circles, such as Lord Balfour is, to Palestine. And the other "popular" explanation — that Lord Balfour came to Palestine in order to see with his own eyes how the Zionists have put the "Balfour Declaration" of 1917 into practice, in which

Palestine was set aside for the Jewish peoples as a "national home" — also does not suffice. The crux of the matter is that Balfour, as one of the most "moderate" Conservatives in intimate relation with the Foreign Office at present, has been entrusted with the task, under the guise of a "visit", to subject British policy in the Near East to a test.

After the "stabilisation" of British power in Egypt by the Ziwar Pascha Cabinet, and the dissolution of Parliament, and the security of the other "wing" of the British possessions in the Near East — Mesopotamia — by the cleverly incited uprising in Kurdistan, the time has now come for British policy to introduce the policy of the firm hand in the Centre, i. e. Palestine and Arabia. Lord Balfour's journey, as the British conservative weekly "Near East" itself states, was a provocation of the Arabians, just as the journey of Lee Stack to the Soudan was five months ago. But that is just what the imperialists wanted. At the same time a test was to be made to find out how capable the native population was of resisting British imperialism, and also how far the alliance with, or rather the lackey service of the Zionist bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats could be depended upon.

The second test was a glorious success. The Zionist bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the Social Democratic "Poale Zion" of various tendencies, showed that they place a good deal more value on the smile of the English Lord than on the peaceful relations with the Arabian population of Palestine. The Zionist organisation, which, by the way, not only in Palestine, but also in the other countries, has put itself completely into the hands of the reactionary sections of the Jewish bourgeoisie (which recently went beyond an unscrupulous offensive against Soviet Russia and has again begun taking an active part in the intervention schemes), is ostentatiously challenging the Arabians to battle by abusing the Arabian Central Committee and the Arabian nationalist leaders. When tanks and aeroplanes are holding the Arabians in check, the Jewish bourgeoisie courageously attacks them. As a consequence, the Arabians break out in wild fury against the Jews and instigate pogroms against innocent poor Jews. It is this which constitutes the greatest service rendered by the Jewish bourgeoisie to British imperialism, because it can maintain its position in Palestine only on the basis of national antagonisms.

Thus, whilst the Jewish bourgeoisie in Palestine showed to Lord Balfour that it was a trustworthy lackey, the attitude of the Arabs showed that the native population has much more power of resistance than was expected. The two parties in the Arabian camp (the "nationalists" — the party of compromise, and the extremist party of the "Arabian Executive Committee"), as well as the various small peasant parties of Palestine have made common cause in answer to the British-Zionist provocation, and the protest against Balfour was unanimous. Apart from the slavish and fawning Zionists, the whole country was united in its protest against brutal British imperialism personified by Balfour.

But it would be wrong to assume that this great anti-Balfour demonstration was only caused by the national question. The nationalism of the Arabian peasants, artisans and workers is not developed enough for that. It was rather a vehement protest against the economic impoverishment of the masses of Palestine and against the oppression under which they are groaning. And not only the Arabian masses, but also the lower classes of the Jewish population of Palestine, except the small group of Zionist agents, have experienced nothing but evil from imperialism, and know that there is worse to come. The Palestine Communists took an active, nay, a leading part in the anti-Balfour demonstration and urged the Jewish and Arabian workers to make common cause against the predatory lords. Thus the national protest was converted into a class protest: the entire working class population of Palestine demonstrated against imperialism and Zionism!

It is as yet impossible to gauge the results and consequences of the Balfour visit. But one thing is quite certain: the more brutal the measures of British imperialism against the population of Palestine and Arabia, and the more the Zionist lackeys lend themselves to the role of the imperialist agents — the stronger and the more united, the bolder and the more revolutionary the national liberation movement will become. And the Communist Party, which the British Government hopes to throttle by arrests and persecutions, will in spite of it, or rather because of it, get into closer and closer contact with the masses and will take the lead in the coming struggles.

The Dissolution of the Egyptian Parliament.

By A. R. (Cairo).

On March 23rd at 10 a. m., all the correspondents of European newspapers who were in Egypt telegraphed to their editors: "The Egyptian Parliament has just been opened." On March 23rd at a few minutes past 8 p. m., the same correspondents of the same papers telegraphed to their editors: "The Egyptian Parliament has just been dissolved."

Egypt is a land of miracles. English technique increases these miracles, nevertheless this "rapidity" and this "rush of events" was something unfathomable to the Egyptians who are prepared for anything.

Things occurred as follows: when, after unspeakable terror, bribery and impudent cheating at the ballot, which were employed by the present Government of Siwer and Sedki (the direct and open agents of the English Residency in Egypt) in the election campaign, it nevertheless became evident that Zaghlu had the majority (117 to 89), the Minister of the Interior declared: "If the new Parliament does not exhibit more "sense" than its predecessor, we shall dissolve it and call for new elections."

From March 12th (the day of the elections) to the 23rd there were eleven whole days, and what could not be done in this space of time! We must give the Minister of the Interior his due — render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's — and acknowledge that in this short time he did everything that was humanly possible to bring a sufficient number of Zaghlu's adherents "to their senses" and to gain a majority, even though an artificial one. All the Egyptian "miracles" and the whole English technique were set into action, and yet Zaghlu's adherents did not "come to their senses". On the contrary, when after the speech from the Throne, they proceeded to the election of the President of Parliament, Zaghlu's candidature for the presidency was supported by 125 votes to 81. This is why the European journalists had to race one another twice to the telegraph office.

What does all this mean? It means that firstly, English reaction is firmly determined to make not the slightest concession to the national revolutionary movement and secondly, that the national revolutionary movement, led by the opportunist bourgeoisie, has not the power to carry on a serious campaign against English imperialism. It was enough to watch the Press of Zaghlu's party immediately after the English ultimatum and Zaghlu's resignation in November 1924, and further until March 23rd, to be more and more convinced that Zaghlu has no desire for a serious struggle but rather dreads it. Zaghlu is endeavouring to liberate the Egyptian bourgeoisie from the intolerable taxes, he is making efforts to free them from the yoke of the laws which leave them no scope for normal development, he is anxious to give them the possibility of developing their own textile industry and of carrying on independent commercial operations with other countries; this naturally compels him to undertake some action against England, but Zaghlu dreads revolution.

Zaghlu is afraid of the many millions of the disinherited peasantry who, in 1919, almost overwhelmed him and his immediate co-workers by their unbridled desire to fight, not only for liberation from the English yoke but also for land, water and the right to human conditions of living. In 1919, the peasants of Upper Egypt destroyed the railway network which connects Egypt with the Soudan and Upper Egypt with Lower Egypt, and proclaimed an independent Republic. It is true that all this only lasted a few days, it is true that it all bore an elementary, confused character, nevertheless the peasants did it and proceeded to commandeer the property of the large landowners and of the State. Zaghlu Pasha himself is a landowner (though a small one), and he fears and hates the peasantry. He is afraid of "letting the wild animal out of the cage", but yet, by means of nebulous promises, he plays at "easing the situation of the peasantry"; he shrinks however from leading them into battle.

Zaghlu Pasha fears not only the peasantry but also the working class of Egypt. In the days when he had no suspicion that his coquetting with England would come to such a pitiful end, when he was still President of the first "real people's" Government, the Egyptian workers in Alexandria, Tanta, Port Said and other places, dared to resort to general strikes and even to proceed to commandeering factories and works. Zaghlu Pasha was personally compelled to enter into negotiations with representatives of the revolutionary workers, and to lay it on their conscience to return the factories to their owners, as otherwise the "people's Government" would be compromised in the eyes of the European "guests".

The Egyptian bourgeoisie, in spite of its youth, suffers from that disease of old age, cowardice. It is seeking "legal constitutional" methods of fighting, it is incapable of class heroism, of self-sacrifice, and hopes to convince the enemy, as it is afraid to risk a fight. English Imperialism understands how to make the very best of this. It knows that this fear of a real popular revolution renders Zaghlu harmless and it is trying to defeat him once for all; in these efforts it finds Zaghlu's enemies of the Right, the feudal nobility, only too ready to help.

The opening and immediate dissolution of Parliament indicate that England no longer fears a repetition of the events of 1919, and has made up its mind to put an end to this playing at democracy, which has become tiresome. A certain form of constitutionalism must indeed be maintained in order to justify England in the eyes of its own freedom-loving people, especially the English workers, but this is a mere trifle which can always be created out of nothing. With this object in view, new elections will take place in November, but this time with a census franchise in which only 1 to 2% of the population will take part.* It will be easy to say to the English democrats and workers: "Egypt is not England, the Egyptian people is not yet ripe for our system of parliamentarism."

And yet this calculation is wrong. If the English diplomats would take the trouble to see and hear more exactly what is going on in the depths of the working masses of Egypt, we are convinced that their composure would not be so Olympic as it is at present. The dissolution of Parliament, this most cynical action, which was only to be expected, means at the same time that a huge boulder has been cleared out of the way of the revolution of the Egyptian masses who are fighting for their liberation.

Parliamentary illusions have not yet taken deep root in the masses of the Egyptian people. They have only touched its surface, but even this has been checked by the brutal methods of English Imperialism. In the final event this is of course only an advantage for the revolutionary movement for the liberation of the working masses of Egypt. The Egyptian Fellaheen (smallholders) and workers are now more than ever prepared to fight for their liberation from slavery. Whether the cowardly bourgeoisie wants to or not, it will be compelled by the pressure of these masses to exchange its absolutely useless "constitutional" equipment for one which is more dangerous to the enemy, that is for organised mass action. Otherwise the initiative of the struggle will pass into other hands.

The Spaniards in Morocco.

By A. R.

Since 1909 the working youth of Spain have been shedding their blood on the rocks of Morocco — for such is the command of the Sindicato Minero del Rif (now the Cia de Minas des Rif); such is the demand of the Monarchy and the army. The events of 1909, which marked the commencement of all the Moroccan campaigns, were due to the greed of the Mining Companies of the Rif. The ostensible cause, however, was the justifiable demands of the native workers of Morocco.

The company exploited the mining works of Beni-Bu-Ifrur which are the richest districts of Morocco. An accident occurred during the work which resulted in several killed and many injured among the native workers. The injured demanded compensation. Their right to this was beyond dispute. The company refused to grant compensation. Thereupon the Rif people revolted against this act of open robbery. The native workers of the French company of North Africa rose at the same time against the capitalists. The French authorities succeeded in quelling the revolt of the natives.

The Spanish authorities made use of the events in Morocco as an excuse for carrying on an imperialist policy. Another factor which played a certain part in this connection was the fact that a year later, in 1910, Alphonso XIII., "the idiot on the Throne", was egged on by courtiers, and of course before all by the greedy Spanish and other capitalists, to an imperialist undertaking against Morocco in order to conquer "new countries for the fatherland" and to appear in history as Alphonso the African.

* Only 3% of the native population of Egypt can read and write. In the new census elections, a certain minimum of knowledge and property will be demanded as a qualification for the franchise.

The Spanish officers, who, as a result of the former colonial wars, were in very ill repute, desired an opportunity whereby they could freshen up their faded military laurels. Morocco seemed to promise an easy victory. With the help of the Army chiefs there was founded a "Colonisation Company for the Rif Area". The colonisers, immediately and without any compunction, commenced to expropriate the Rif people for the advantage and benefit of the capitalists and of the army chiefs and officers.

Prospectors had announced the existence of rich mineral treasures in the Rif district. The blood of the Spanish soldiers and of the Rif population which was shed for years in Morocco was converted into fat profits. The Mining Company of the Rif recently distributed its dividends for the year 1924: 75 Pesetas per share instead of 50 Pesetas in 1923. The miserably paid labour of the native mine workers serves to compete with the labour of the miners of Spain and to depress their already scandalously low wages still further. The crisis in the mining industry is becoming more acute. This is characterised by a striking fact, reported in the financial journals: A treaty has been concluded with German firms, according to which the latter will purchase 50,000 tons of pig iron in North Africa.

Since 1921 the Morocco question has assumed another character for Spain. Hitherto Spanish imperialism had only encountered the hostility of some of the native tribes, who carried out scattered revolts without any coordination and without political aims. Spain combined military action with so-called "civil" action, which consisted in bribing the more influential tribal chiefs in order that the latter should betray their people and their cause. This policy was specially made use of by the native leaders Roghi, Muley, Hafid and Reisuni. They carried on a prosperous and, for them, a very profitable trade with the colonisers; in fact one of their methods was from time to time to provoke a revolt among the tribes against Spain for the sole purpose of extracting fresh bribes from the Spanish masters.

The appearance of Abd-el-Krim at the head of the Africans changed the whole significance of the Morocco question. Abd-el-Krim is the leader of an independent movement of the Rif-Kabyles. The corruption policy proved a complete failure with him. Abd-el-Krim perceived that the most advantageous thing was to defeat the Spaniards.

He therefore seizes from them the weapons and money he requires in order to carry on the fight and to found the Rif Republic. He is not prepared to bargain away the freedom of the country. The English capitalists who wished to colonise the Rif district by means of granting loans, know this very well. Abd-el-Krim has recently adopted a hostile attitude towards Reisuni, the agent of Spanish imperialism and Muley Jussef, the Sultan by the grace of the French colonisers.

Abd-el-Krim reckons with the sympathy and the solidarity of Islam, which rightly sees in the victorious war of the Rif Kabyles against the Spaniards a war of independence. At the last Islamic Conference, which took place in Balgaum (India), over 2000 Muselman delegates voted for a proclamation of solidarity with the Rif Kabyles. A correspondent of the "Chicago Daily News" recently visited Adfir, the capital of the Rif Republic, and had an interview with Abd-el-Krim. The latter, so states this journalist, daily receives numerous messages from the Mohammedan world and from secret societies in London and India. The "Daily Herald", the organ of the English Labour Party, considered it necessary when commenting upon this article to call the attention of the Foreign Minister, Chamberlain, to the danger threatening English imperialism!

An attempt is being made to represent the Abd-el-Krim movement as a revolt on the part of savages. This is an old method adopted by the imperialists in order to bring discredit upon the movement for emancipation of the colonial peoples. The Rif Kabyles appreciate civilization, the advantages of which they have begun to learn, more than the civilizers. After the defeat of Annual (1921), when the Spanish army recaptured the lost territory, they found that the Rif Kabyles had spared all the public buildings built by their enemies. In the course of their raids the Spaniards frequently find among the natives, European furniture, sewing machines, safety razors, Kodak cameras and gramophones. The few scientific expeditions which have been able to penetrate into the independent area have been excellently received.

All those who have visited Adfir are astonished at the extraordinary changes which Abd-el-Krim has brought about in the capital town of the Rif Kabyles. He is endeavouring to "modernise" it. In this work he is supported by his brother, a man of

great culture, who completed his studies in Madrid, where the sons of the Spanish intellectuals are educated.

The Spanish army has learnt to its cost regarding the military talents of Abd-el-Krim. Since the liberator of the Rif took over the conduct of operations, the Spaniards have suffered defeat after defeat. Their losses are very great. Thousands of Spaniards fell last November. The military censor has maintained silence over their death. But the correspondent of the "Chicago Tribune" was able to write:

"In a period of 20 minutes there were 234 killed in Xatura, I counted them . . . And Xatura was only an episode of the retreat, which according to official reports had only cost 15 dead! I estimate the total losses of the Spaniards at 3900 men".

It is thus that the young workers of Spain are perishing.

After the recent Moroccan defeat Primo de Rivera wished to win a victory at home. He has obtained it. He has thrown into prison hundreds of communists, who declared their solidarity with the Rif people.

When it became apparent that the military defeat in Morocco was a complete one, the idea was suggested of a "civil" intervention and of a "Protectorate".

What will come of this? Nothing. Our imperialists know that themselves. A Spanish journalist has stated why these half measures will fail: "Because the Spanish guns and the bombs from their aeroplanes have made more holes in the interior of the Rif than did the German and Allied artillery in the plains of Champagne".

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Comrade Stalin's Speech at the Czechoslovakian Commission of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.

Comrades! If we leave out of account a few details and personal factors, through which some comrades have muddled affairs, the problem of the differences of opinion in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia could be summarized in the following 9 questions:

1. Is there a crisis in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia?
2. What is the fundamental cause of the crisis?
3. What is the character of the crisis, that is to say, whence does the threatening danger come, from the Left or the Right?
4. Which of these dangers is more serious, the Left or the Right?
5. Why is the danger from the Right the most actual danger?
6. How is the fight against the danger from the Right to be conducted in such a way that a real Bolshevisation and a real solution of the crisis will result from it?
7. What should be the next step to further the Bolshevisation of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia?
8. The rights of the C. I. with regard to the national sections.
9. Comrade Kreibich and the threats of a split.

1. Is there a crisis in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia? Yes indeed, there is a crisis. This is recognised by both sides. On this point they have no differences of opinion. Comrade Smeral even went further when he said that the crisis is deeper-seated than some comrades on the whole imagine.

2. What is the fundamental cause of the crisis? Comrade Smeral is wholly in the right when he says that the fundamental cause is to be found in the difficulties which are bound up with the transition from the period of the revolutionary wave to the period of stagnation. The transition period which demands a re-orientation, gives rise, as a rule, to some crisis or other in the Party. This is how things stand at the present moment in Czechoslovakia.

3. What is the character of the crisis and whence does the threatened danger come, from Left or Right? Here also Comrade Smeral is right, when he says that the danger threatens from both sides, left and right. There is a danger of overvaluing secondary demands to the disadvantage of fundamental demands, of overvaluing parliamentary activity and work in the trade unions. This is the danger from the Right, for it leads to an accommodation to the bourgeoisie. On the other hand there is the danger of undervaluing the partial demands, parliamentary activity, work in the trade unions etc. This is the danger from

the Left, for it leads to the isolation of the Party from the masses and to the formation of separate groups. Comrade Smeral's wish to hold a middle course in this fight between two opposed tendencies is fully justified. It is only to be regretted that he did not succeed in maintaining this position, but drifted into the channel of the Right.

4. Which of these dangers is the more serious, the Left or the Right? It seems to me that Comrade Smeral has not arrived at a clear view with regard to this question. His criticism is mainly directed against the Left in the supposition that the chief danger lies there. The facts however demonstrate that the chief danger threatens from the Right and not from the Left. This is what Comrade Smeral has failed to grasp, and therein lies his first mistake.

5. Why is the danger from the Right the most serious danger at the present moment? For three reasons.

First reason. The transition itself from the boom to stagnation increases by its whole character the possibility of the danger from the Right. If the boom produces revolutionary illusions and calls forth as a fundamental danger the danger from the Left, stagnation on the contrary produces social democratic, reformist illusions and calls forth as fundamental danger that from the Right. In 1920 when the Labour movement was on the rise, Lenin wrote the brochure "The Infantile Disease of Radicalism". Why did Lenin write just this brochure? Simply because at that time the danger from the Left was the most serious danger. If Lenin were alive to-day, I believe he would write a new brochure "Deviation to the Right as a Disease of Old Age". For now, in the period of stagnation, when the illusions of compromise necessarily grow, the danger of the Right is the gravest danger.

Second reason. As Comrade Smeral reported, the C. P. of Czechoslovakia consists by at least 70% of former Social Democrats. It is hardly necessary to prove that in a Party of this kind, relapses into social democracy are not only possible but indeed inevitable. Needless to say, the danger from the Right must as a matter of course be intensified by this circumstance.

Third reason. The Czechoslovakian State is a State based on the national victory of the Czechs. The Czechs have been granted their national State as a sovereign people, the workers are at present not badly off, there is no unemployment, the idea of the national State holds everything completely under its spell. All these circumstances necessarily produce the illusions associated with national peace. Needless to say, this in itself leads to the development and intensification of the danger from the Right. This accounts for the fact that the contradiction between Right and Left has developed on national lines, that the Slovaks and the Germans (the oppressed nations) have drifted to the Left wing while the Czechs have drifted in the opposite direction. Comrade Smeral has spoken of the danger of such a distinction. He is of course right. It is also true however that such a distinction is perfectly comprehensible when the above mentioned peculiarities of the Czechoslovakian State and the ruling position of the Czechs is taken into consideration.

These are fundamental reasons why the danger from the Right is a particularly grave danger in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

6. How is the fight against the danger from the Right to be conducted in the C. P. of Czechoslovakia? This question leads us to the very heart of the differences of opinion. One would think that the fight against this danger should be carried on with perfect determination and without any consideration. But with the Czech Communists exactly the opposite has occurred. Is Comrade Smeral fighting against this danger from the Right? Yes, he is. But he fights in such a way that instead of a liquidation of the Right wing, his final result is a cultivation, support, defense of the Right against the blows of the Left. This is somewhat singular Comrades, but it is a fact. This is Comrade Smeral's second and fundamental mistake.

Judge yourselves.

First. It is true that an article by Comrade Kreibich in defence of Trotzkyism exists. It is also a fact that this document is known in Party circles and is passed on from hand to hand. This document ought to have been placed in broad daylight and its author smashed, ideologically smashed before the eyes of the workers, so that it would have been possible for the Party to form a clear opinion as to the danger of Trotzkyism and to train its cadres in the spirit of Bolshevism. For what is Trotzkyism other than the Right wing of Communism, the danger from the Right? How did Comrade Smeral however behave in this case?

Instead of bringing Comrade Kreibich's Trotzkyism to the knowledge of the whole Party, he has blurred and dimmed the whole question, and placed it behind the scenes of the Party where he has "solved" it in darkness and secrecy in the usual way in which "misunderstandings" are hushed up. This has been a gain to Trotzkyism and Comrade Kreibich but a loss to the Party. Instead of a campaign against the Right, the Right has been protected.

Secondly. It is well known that some of the leaders of three trade union organisations — that of the transport workers, the woodworkers and workers in the building trade — have published a certain document in which they demand the complete independence of the trade unions from the Party. It is well known that this document is an evidence of the existence of a strong Right element in the trade unions of Czechoslovakia. The right thing would have been to examine this document publicly within the Party so that the latter might be warned of the danger of the trade unions breaking away from it. How did Comrade Smeral act in this case? He simply wiped the question off the slate by withdrawing the document from circulation and thus concealing it from the bulk of the Party. The Right group came to no harm, and the "Party prestige" was preserved. And this is what is called fighting the Right!

Thirdly. It is well known that in the Communist Parliamentary Fraction there are elements belonging to the Right. It is a well-known fact that these elements are always trying to withdraw from the leadership of the Party and to get into opposition to the Centre of the Party. It is a matter of urgent necessity to combat these elements, specially now, specially in the present circumstances of the period of stagnation. How does Comrade Smeral combat this danger? Instead of unmasking the Right elements of the Communist fraction he takes them under his protection and saves them by an elastic resolution as to the recognition of the subordination of the fraction to the Party leadership, which was passed as the result of a secret internal struggle in the fourth year of the Party's existence. Once more it was a gain to the Right and a loss to the Party.

Fourthly. Finally the Bubnik affair. I must say Comrades, that the period of the standstill is by no means a period of absolute inactivity. The period of the standstill is a period of the formation and training of the proletarian armies, a period of their preparation for revolution. The training of the proletarian armies however can only be brought about through action. The rise in prices which has recently set in in Czechoslovakia is a favourable condition for such an action. As everyone knows, the C. P. of Czechoslovakia has seized the opportunity and recently carried through a series of demonstrations against the rise in prices. The Right communist Bubnik, who is now excluded from the Party has, as is well known, also made use of the opportunity and has tried to frustrate the actions of the workers by playing the Party false.

What measures has Comrade Smeral taken to protect the Party from the danger of the Right? Instead of using the Bubnik "case" as an opportunity of exposing without mercy the whole group of the Right of the Party, Comrade Smeral confined the question of principle as regards the Right wing to the individual case of Bubnik, although the whole world knows that Bubnik does not stand alone but has partisans not only in the trade unions but also in the Communist Parliamentary fraction and in the Press. By making a small sacrifice (Bubnik's expulsion) he saved the Right group from destruction, to the detriment of the essential interests of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. And this is what Comrade Smeral calls "the tactics of the struggle against the Right".

Comrade Smeral describes these tactics as "fine", "delicate" tactics. It may be that these tactics are actually fine, but there can be no question of their having anything in common with the Bolshevik tactics of the unrelenting fight against the Right. Comrade Smeral forgets the Russian proverb "a fabric tears first at its thinnest part". He has forgotten that fineness is no guarantee against a fiasco. As is common knowledge, this is what happened, for these "fine" tactics with the Right tore and collapsed the first time they were put to the test, when the Bubnik group, which had fattened on these tactics, nearly wrecked the recent operations of the Czech proletariat. The result of Comrade Smeral's "fine" tactics is the strengthening of the Right, and Bubnik's treachery. For this reason I believe that Comrade Smeral's "fine" tactics would result in the salvation of the Right, the intensification of the crisis, that they are tactics which would lead to the destruction of the Party.

Why did the old Social Democracy perish as a revolutionary party? Among other reasons, because Kautsky and his partisans applied in practice the "fine" tactics of sheltering and rescuing the Right, the "delicate" tactics of "unity" and of "peace" with Ede Bernstein and his adherents. And what was the final result? The result was that at the critical moment, immediately before the war, the Right Social Democrats betrayed the workers, that the "orthodox" members fell into the clutches of the Right, and that the whole social democracy became a "living corpse".

I believe that in the course of time the same thing may happen to Communism in Czechoslovakia, unless we rapidly and firmly substitute the Bolshevik tactics of an unrelenting fight against the formation of Right groups within the Communist Party for the "fine" tactics of Comrade Smeral. This does not mean that I wish to place Comrade Smeral on the same level with the social democrats. That is by no means my intention. He is undoubtedly a Communist and probably even an excellent Communist. What I mean to say is that he will inevitably drift into social democracy if he does not break away from his "fine" tactics.

7. What is the next duty of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia? Its immediate task is to carry on a resolute fight against the danger from the Right so as to bring about complete isolation and the final liquidation of the Right element, while combatting the tendency to Left radicalism. Cooperation between all the really revolutionary elements of the Party — in order to liquidate completely the Right groups — this is the task of the Party, this is the way out of the crisis. Unless this takes place, it is hopeless to think of a Bolshevisation of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

This does not of course mean that the Right must be turned out of the Party unconditionally and without exception. Expulsion is not the most decisive means of combatting the Right. The essential thing is to disperse the Right groups ideologically and morally in the course of the fight for our principles, and to get the broad masses of the Party to join in this fight. This is one of the most important and essential means of educating the Party in the spirit of Bolshevism. Expulsion must, in cases where it is really necessary occur as the natural result of the ideological destruction of our opponent. In this respect the Left group in Czechoslovakia made a serious mistake in expelling Bubnik too hastily. Instead of making the uttermost use of the Bubnik "case" and linking it with the fundamental attitude of the Right towards the question of mass action and thus unmasking its true features, they hastened to expel Bubnik and thus cut themselves off from all the paths which might have led to further procedure on this basis.

8. As regards the rights of the C. I. and its interference in the affairs of the national Parties, I absolutely disagree with some comrades who have declared themselves in favour of limiting these rights. They want the C. I. to transform itself into an organisation which sits enthroned above the stars, looking down dispassionately on the events in the various Parties and patiently registering their proceedings. No, Comrades, the C. I. cannot be an organisation beyond the stars. The C. I. is a fighting organisation of the proletariat, all the roots of its existence are intertwined with the Labour movement and it cannot help mixing in the affairs of the individual Parties, in order to support the revolutionary elements and to combat their opponents. Of course the Parties must have internal autonomy, of course the Party councils must be free and its central committees must be elected by the Party councils. But those who draw from this the conclusion that the C. I. has not the right to direct and consequently to interfere, are playing into the hands of the enemies of communism.

9. Finally, as regards Comrade Kreibich. It seems to me that his whole speech was calculated to intimidate some members or other by the threat of a split. Do not interfere with the Right group from Brünn, he said, or it may lead to a serious issue, do not fight them lest a split result! Well, we shall see. Comrade Kreibich had better stop trying to frighten us, he will not intimidate us. He cannot be ignorant of the fact that we have smelt powder enough and that his threats of a split are thrown away on us. And if he should take it into his head to pass from threats to deeds. I frankly assure him that he, and he alone will be the mourner.

To summarize: there is a crisis in the Party. There is no doubt as to the causes of the crisis. The danger from the Right is the most threatening. Our task is — resolute and unrelenting war against this danger. The way out of the crisis is — cooperation

between all the revolutionary elements of the Party in order to achieve the complete liquidation of the Right groups.

We must use the period of the standstill to consolidate the Party, to Bolshevise it and to have it "always in readiness" for all possible "complications", for "We know neither the day nor the hour when the bridegroom cometh" who will prepare the way for the new rise of revolution.

Appeal of the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. To all Members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Communist International as a whole has been greatly concerned about the recent events in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The heroic struggle of the working class of Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of its Communist Party against the renewed attempts of the bourgeoisie, to shift the burden of economic ruin on to the shoulders of the workers, the splendidly organised mass demonstrations of the Czechoslovakian proletariat in February last, the recent general strike in Moravian Ostrau are further proofs of the strength and the high state of organisation of the Czechoslovakian working class and of the correctness of the path which the Party is pursuing in its struggle against the bourgeoisie. It is no chance occurrence that just at the moment when the workers have come out into the open at the call of the Communist Party an attempt was made to frustrate the action of the Czechoslovakian workers, to disorganise the ranks of the Communist Party, and to destroy the confidence of the masses in the leadership of the Party. The right elements of the Czechoslovakian Party headed by Bubnik have shown themselves on that occasion as avowed traitors, who dealt the working class a treacherous blow. The Communist International has already branded Bubnik's action as a treacherous act, and has fully endorsed the decision of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party as to his immediate expulsion from the Party. However, Bubnik's action and especially his attempt to discredit the personal composition and policy of the Central Committee of the Party, were not sufficiently resisted either by the minority of the Central Committee, or by the leaders of some of the district organisations, especially by the upper strata of the Brünn Party organisation. In their memorandum presented to the Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern the leaders of the Brünn organisation, in defence of their disintegrating action, brought forward political views which have nothing in common, either with the fundamental rules of communism and Leninism, or with the political decisions of the Comintern and the Congresses of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. was unanimous in its condemnation of the views of the upper stratum of the Brünn organisation which the Plenum rightly branded as relics of social-democratic played out conceptions. The Plenum also declared the tactics advocated by the Brünn leaders to be politically harmful and opportunist, and branded Bubnik's defence by the Brünn leaders as a political crime against the Communist Party deserving severe condemnation.

The Communist International is of the opinion that Bubnik's attempt to create a split in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party and the disintegrating actions of the leaders of the Brünn organisation were rendered still more serious by the fact that a section of the comrades headed by the minority of the Central Committee did not proceed with the necessary energy against the right opportunist peril which had again raised its head.

The Comintern has great pleasure in placing on record that as a result of a careful examination of the Czechoslovakian question at the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I., the minority of the Central Committee rejected the Bubnik policy and agreed, in condemning the action of the Brünn organisation, with the resolution endorsed unanimously by the Czechoslovakian delegation, adopting as the main task of the Czechoslovakian Party the relentless struggle against the dangerous right tendencies and opportunist misinterpretations of communist Leninist views and tactics.

The Comintern is convinced that the slogan of preserving unity at all costs, of fighting with digressions, in the first place with right wing opportunist digressions, and also of explaining to the working masses the process of ideologically replacing these digressions by fundamental communist views and tactics, —

these slogans will be approved and accepted by the whole Czechoslovakian Party. The Czechoslovakian workers, who represent the fundamental mass composition of the Czechoslovakian Party, did not and do not desire any splits or scissions. They will always preserve the unity of the Party and sharply repulse all those who endeavour to threaten this unity. At a moment when the leadership of the Czechoslovakian Party has unanimously resolved to overcome every kind of crisis within the Party, at a time when the Party Congress fixed for the near future should finally liquidate all elements of crisis, the Communist International addresses to all members of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party a fervent appeal: Preserve Party unity at all costs!

Workers of Prague, Kladno and Brünn! Workers of all Czechoslovakia!

The Communist International calls upon you to rally around the Central Committee and to guard Party unity. It calls upon you to fight against the dangers of perverting Communism, to learn from digressions and errors and to teach the masses untiringly to Bolshevise the Party, to strengthen its iron discipline, to forge its Party units, and reinforce its leadership.

With the active help of the Czechoslovakian workers, the Party will overcome all the maladies, growths and relics of opportunism, and march forward upon a tried and tested Bolshevik and Leninist path on to the struggle for victory.

Long live the unity of the Czechoslovakian Party!
Long live its struggle with the scissionists!
Long live Communism!

President of the ECCI: G. Zinoviev; Representatives of the Majority in the C. C. C. P. Cz.: Neurath, Garus, Haken, Drushka; Representatives of the Minority in the C. C. C. P. Cz.: Smeral, Zapotocky, Muna; Representative of the Control Commission C. P. Cz.: Irava; Delegation from Prague Organisations: Irkovsky, Mourek; Delegation from Kladno Organisation: Formanek, Kreichi, Sukhardova; Delegation from Brünn Organisation: Tondl; Delegate from Aussig Organisation: Grünwald; Editor of "Rude Pravo": Shafarje; Representatives of the Communist Parliamentary Fraction: Blazhek, Mala; Delegates to the Plenary Session of the ECI: Mikhaletz, Schwerma, Hershl.

THE WHITE TERROR

A New Crime of the Esthonian Bourgeoisie and Social Democracy.

Revolutionaries Sentenced to Death.

The Esthonian bourgeoisie is murdering more workers and peasants. Since the 1st of December hundreds of workers and peasants have been foully murdered. According to the reports of bourgeois papers, a whole number of political trials are about to be held in which hundreds of workers and peasants are to be tried, solely because they have hands which have been hardened by toil and lead a miserable existence in the "independent Republic".

A few days ago the military court of Reval sentenced to death comrade Welt and comrade Ulgekiütt for having, it is stated, taken part in the revolt of 1st December 1924.

The two condemned comrades were peasants and active workers in the Esthonian peasant movement. Comrade Welt was a tenant farmer. Already in 1920 he worked among the peasants of Pärnu. At the elections in 1923 he was put forward as a candidate for parliament in two constituencies on the united front ticket of the workers and peasants. Comrade Welt enjoyed enormous influence among the peasants. He was a leader of the working peasants, who suffer under a heavy burden of taxation and are fighting for their emancipation. When at the beginning of 1924 the parliamentary fraction of the united front were arrested, Comrade Welt took the place of these arrested and steadfastly continued the struggle for the interest of the Esthonian peasants and their allies, the workers, until he was himself arrested.

Comrade Ulgekiütt was a peasant from the Isle of Ösel where he had been for several years a well-known worker among the village poor. The great majority of the population of the Isle of Ösel consists of land poor peasants. They elected him on the united front ticket of the workers and peasants as a substitute deputy to parliament.

The Esthonian bourgeois democratic murderers of workers and peasants have worked expeditiously in the interests of the international profit-makers. Comrades Welt and Ulgekiütt have already been executed.

The proletariat of all countries must carry out an energetic protest action against the murderous fury of the Esthonian bourgeoisie, in which the "socialist" International is participating. This is all the more necessary as the Esthonian "democratic" coalition government, in which the social democrats are participating, is preparing, after the bloody vengeance of the 1st of December, to get rid of further workers and peasants by "legal" means. At the military courts there come forward as "eye-witnesses", drunken spies who make monstrous assertions regarding the "criminal" character of the accused. No witnesses are allowed to come forward on behalf of the accused, and when the accused refer to people who can give evidence in their favour, these people are straight away arrested and brought before the court as "equally guilty terrorists".

The base and monstrous character of the Esthonian white justice is indescribable.

Down with the Esthonian hangmen!

Long live the solidarity of the workers and peasants of the world!

BOOK REVIEWS

Max Beer: "General History of Socialism and Social Struggles"*)

By Hermann Duncker (Berlin).

A History of Socialism**) has been a long felt and urgent want in the modern working class movement. However, it quickly proved itself to be an undertaking demanding great preparatory study and above all the possibility of prolonged and undisturbed scientific work. When even bourgeois writers in their peaceful studies have not been successful in completing such a work***), how is it to come from the ranks of a fighting Party? In the beginning of the 'nineties the at that time still revolutionary German Social Democratic Party had already made a great step towards the issue of a comprehensive History of Socialism. It was to represent the collective work of the best Marxists of the International. Plechanov, Lafargue, Kautsky, Mehring, Bernstein and others were won for the idea, but the work remained a torso, though a very valuable one. Kautsky's "Pioneers of Socialism" and Mehring's "History of the German Social Democracy" developed later from this.

There existed also various historical monographs — very unequal in their execution! dealing with persons, events and movements in the history of Socialism in the German language (with which we are exclusively dealing here), but there was lacking a comprehensive history of socialism, setting itself the task of following the whole development of socialist ideology and social revolutionary movements throughout the history of mankind.

By extremely industrious and conscientious work in the years 1920—23 a work has been completed which fills this gap. M. Beer, known as a Marxist writer by a series of capable works upon the history of socialism, has issued a "General History of Socialism and Social Struggles" in five volumes published by the „Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft" (Berlin). In 1924 these five parts were issued in one volume of 540 pages.

This work which we can conscientiously recommend to all comrades, caused one or two surprises in the form of its appearance alone. First of all it is astonishing that precisely the „Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft" in the midst of the trivialities with which it is in the habit of feeding the book market, and having regard to the social democratic camouflage manoeuvres, with which this house usually accompanies its publications, should have issued such a serious and scientific work. But much more astonishing is

*) M. Beer, „Allgemeine Geschichte des Sozialismus und der sozialen Kämpfe". Verlag für Sozialwissenschaft, Berlin 1925.

**) Or Communism, both words are used interchangeably.

***) Georg Adler's History of Socialism never got farther than the first part, and this is also true of Elizabeth Luzzato's History.

the fact that this publishing house, behind which Parvus and other fiery anti-communists stand — a semi-official publishing house of the German Social Democratic Party — presents in the Beer book a positively annihilating communist criticism of the German S. D. P. and the II. International.

We do not know whether perhaps the Barmat orgies in Schwannenwerder or such like pleasures indulged in by the publishing house directors, and with them the whole party leadership of the German S. D. P., have so much fogged their brains that they simply failed to notice what a bolshevik cuckoo's egg was being hatched in their otherwise so respectable nest, but for this good joke we are prepared to forgive comrade Beer for having so long delayed in taking up an open attitude for communism and the III International! It is also possible that the directors of this publishing house, in the atmosphere of corruption which surrounds the German S. D. P., simply said to themselves: "Business is business; we shall get a profit on the book even if it should expose our political sins. *Non olet*, money doesn't smell!". Beer is right when he speaks in his book of "the internal moral weakness of the Social Democratic Party" (Page 500) or of the "unprincipled and opportunistic II International" (Page 514).

The work of Beer — to a certain extent a world history from the socialist point of view — deals, in a capably arranged division of material, in the first and second parts with ancient society and the middle ages, whilst the three last parts are devoted to socialism in the later ages (from the XIV century on). Although not all the sections are dealt with in the same manner from original sources, yet important epochs are seen in a new light by the arrangement of the material and apart from this Beer has worked detailed original studies into his book.

The presentation of pre-historic and ancient society is the least satisfactory. The origin of private property and above all the class tendency of certain forms of special property should have been more clearly dealt with (for instance page 4—35). Military conflicts between the tribes precede the formation of classes within the tribes. It is an exact reversal of the process when Beer says of slavery (page 17): "in the beginning it was compatriots who were made slaves and later prisoners of war". In the utilisation of the material supplied by antiquity, Beer makes too little distinction between saga and legend and actual historical facts, (See for instance Lycurgus, Page 40, or Christ, Page 101, and others). The psychology of the people has always had a tendency in looking back on social movements to regard them in the light of the heroic actions and wonders of superhuman personalities. The social historian has, therefore, the extremely agreeable task of presenting such legends attaching to personalities once again from their original sources as "legends".

Beer does justice least of all to the Platonic social critic. He contends that the "Politeia" is no utopian description (Page 52). But Plato with his "ideal state" nevertheless tried to hold the mirror to his generation. It is by no means an accident that even in the middle ages communist thinkers and poets returned ever and again to Plato's "Politeia" (Campanelle, More, Muenzer and others). On the other hand Beer has represented in this first part many movements with the care and accuracy of the Marxist, for instance, the prophets' movement in ancient Palestine, the descriptions of Cataline and particularly of Spartacus.

Beer presents very basic studies in his description of the social thought of the middle ages and the social-heretic movement from the IV to the XIV century. The author has dealt with this religious ideology in an astounding and living manner (see the proof for the connections with the Gnosis). The economic foundation is however dealt with rather too briefly. It is just as actually present as the "earthly aims" in the Chilianst and ancient Christian

tendencies. It has been argued recently (see A. Wittfogel!) that the word Communism cannot be extended to movements which strive only for a communism of consumption. Certainly, scientific, Marxist communism begins first with the slogan of the socialisation of the means of production and the recognition of the class struggle. But there exists nevertheless also a "development of socialism from utopia to science"! And thus Beer is right when he describes as communism those efforts and systems of thought in economic epochs in which the structure of modern communism could not be conceived of, but in which nevertheless a "new society" was demanded in which the common property or the social control over the necessities of life should ensure the well being of all.

Comrade Beer has been most successful in the history of socialism since the dawn of modern times. We are given in bold outline the first great German revolution from 1516 to 1535, in which Beer sets forth the Reformation, the movement for national unity, the peasant wars and the Anabaptist movement. That the fine sense of Beer for the economic and moral history of England would ensure him success in those chapters dealing with the history of socialism in England was obvious (see the chapters dealing with the English utopians and the English social critics etc.). Beer's studies also draw other persons and movements into the history of socialism in an original manner. We do not agree with Beer who stamps the historian of the Babeuf conspiracy Buonarrotti as the leading spirit of the movement, so that finally it is somewhat unintelligible why the chapter is still entitled "The Conspiracy of Babeuf and Comrades" (Page 342). Beer is however right when he unearths the leader of the German Enlightenment movement, Professor Weisshaupt (1748—1830), and also the social criticism of the Rhineland Gail in the year 1825, and other similar material. Thus for instance, amongst the older French socialists, Pecqueur receives a detailed valuation. Pecqueur, like the German Moses Hess, is often unjustly ignored.

We then come to the presentation of the socialism of modern times (up to 1920). Beer gives us in an exemplary manner, always upon the basis of historical and economic sketch, the history of ideas and the political movements. A great amount of material and reflection is presented in the smallest space. Everything is clearly and correctly dealt with in the light of the materialist conception of history. Only upon one point must we take up a definite attitude against Beer, and that is in his judgment of Engels (Page 240). Beer should do justice to the significance and unique spirit of Engels precisely because of the extraordinary modesty with which Engels always placed himself behind Marx. The original form of the Engels foreword to the "Class Struggles" and many letters show clearly that Engels cannot be counted among the "reformists". For the rest, Beer presents the gradual victory of reformism in the German working class movement and the progress of the German S. D. P. towards a petty bourgeois party very well . . .

"The II International could not stand the great test: Nationalism and Revisionism bound it to the existing order and dragged it into the vortex of war" (Page 514).

And of the period following the war Beer says just as succinctly and appropriately: "The S. P. of Germany ruled, but militarism, bureaucracy and capitalism were dominant". Beer shows the internal dissolution of the S. P. of Germany, how it "paved the way for the Reaction", unfortunately, however, he pays too little attention to the building up of the new communist movement in the III International. Let us hope that Beer will still deal in detail with this most important period in the history of socialism.